

# Routes to tour in Germany

## The Spa Route

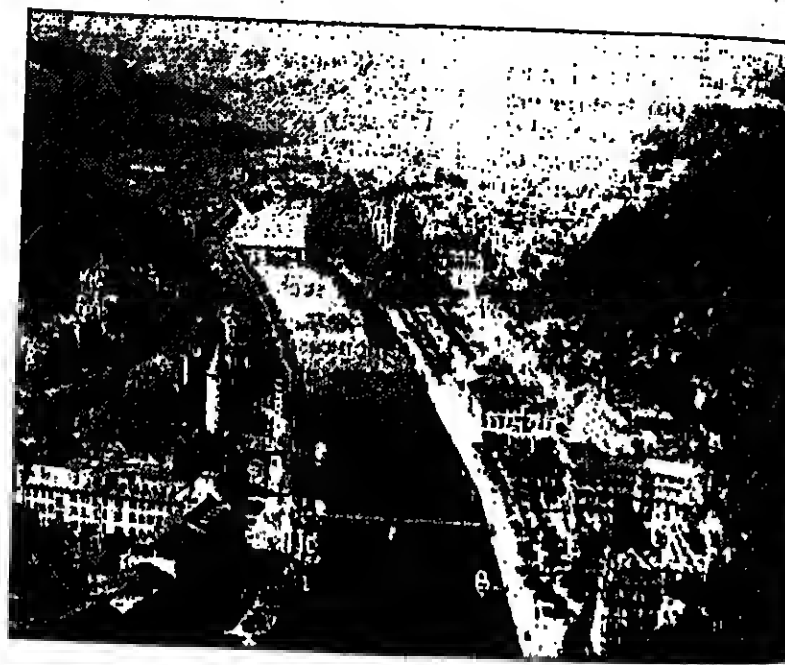
German roads will get you there, say to spas and health resorts spread not all over the country but along a route easily travelled and scenically attractive. From Lahnstein, opposite Koblenz, the Spa Route runs along the wooded chain of hills that border the Rhine valley. Health cures in these resorts are particularly successful in dealing with rheumatism and gynaecological disorders and cardiac and circulatory complaints. Even if you haven't enough time to take a full course of treatment, you ought to take a look at a few pump rooms and sanatoriums. In Bad Ems you must not miss the historic Inn known as the *Wirtshaus an der Lahn*. In Bad Schwalbach see for yourself the magnificent *Kursaal*. Take a walk round the Kurpark in Wiesbaden and see the city's casino. Elegant Wiesbaden dates back to the late 19th century Wilhelminian era.

Visit Germany and let the Spa Route be your guide.



- 1 Wiesbaden
- 2 Schlangenbad
- 3 Bad Ems
- 4 Bad Schwalbach

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# The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS  
C 20725 C  
ISSN 0016-8858

Bonn, 3 July 1983  
Second year - No. 1090 - By air

## Kohl not likely to mince words in Moscow

Chancellor Kohl's visit to Moscow to July comes at an awkward time. Geneva talks on missiles and missile limitation in Europe are in full swing. Relations between the superpowers cooled off. The chill has set in to the extent that Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko has dismissed any idea of a meeting between Presidents Andropov and Reagan as an immediate prospect. Painstaking preparations were made for a summit meeting, Mr Gromyko said. So were atmospheric improvements that Washington was not prepared to make at present.

Chancellor Kohl will make no bones about the negative aspects of relations between Bonn and Moscow during his visit to the Soviet capital. German diplomats in Moscow hint that Kohl and his Foreign Minister Genscher, will be telling the Soviet leaders what doesn't satisfy them.

The Chancellor will be stressing his interest in good relations with the Soviet Union even if missile moderation goes ahead.

The same sources suggest that Bonn prefers the Chancellor's visit not to be overshadowed by the missile issue.

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Next edition of THE GERMAN TRIBUNE will appear on 17 July.

dominated by the missile issue, the Geneva INF talks are sure to be a major item on the agenda of days of talks.

despite this threat relations between the two countries have been good. The threat the Moscow treaty...

absolute character of Soviet security policy, and he is expecting the Soviet Union to honour his firm stand with a willingness to compromise.

The Chancellor is likely to hold separate talks with Mr Andropov, Prime Minister Tikhonov and Defence Minister Ustinov.

In each case missile experts from both sides will be present, but it is hoped that the missiles issue will not predominate.

Bonn wants to make it clear to the Soviet Union that the security policy measures it feels are right ought not to be made subject to the future of bilateral ties.

Chancellor Kohl's government is keen to maintain good relations.

The negative aspects of bilateral ties include, as the Chancellor sees it, the decline in the number of ethnic Germans to the granted visas to leave the Soviet Union and start life afresh in the Federal Republic of Germany.

This "sad chapter" in bilateral ties, as one German diplomat puts it, will be given a forthright mention by Chancellor Kohl in view of the burden it imposes on ties between Bonn and Moscow.

His predecessors Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt preferred not to over-emphasise the issue. They tried to solve the problem by means of quiet diplomacy.

In the first six months of 1983 only 594 ethnic Germans have been issued with exit visas by the Soviet authorities. The figure last year was 1,196. Over 100,000 are felt to be still keen to migrate. Neither political nor economic agree-



American Vice-President George Bush (left) with Bonn Chancellor Karl Carstens. Mr Bush was in the Federal Republic to take part in 300th anniversary celebrations to mark the first German settlers to arrive in America (Story this page). (Photo: Sven Simon)

## A reflection of German public opinion

Vice-President Bush of America, President Carstens and Chancellor Kohl attended a special ceremony in Krefeld in honour of the 300th anniversary of the first German settlers in America.

Mr Bush was welcomed by 100,000 Krefeld people, 20,000 members of the peace movement demonstrated peacefully against the arms race and 1,000 demonstrators (at most) ran riot.

These figures are probably an accurate reflection of German opinion on ties with the United States and on armaments. The number of militant trouble-makers is very small yet they hit the headlines.

This conveys a distorted picture of the situation in the Federal Republic and an inaccurate image of the peace movement, which thus tends to be seen as entirely violent, Communist-run and completely anti-American.

German-American friendship, which the tricentennial celebrations are intended to reaffirm, developed in the special circumstances of the post-war period.

Yet the Western alliance remains the cornerstone on which the Federal Republic's policies are based; and election results emphasise how few people would like to see Bonn pull out of Nato.

The fear of a nuclear arms race is much more widespread. Reaffirmation of German-American friendship, as in Krefeld, would be misunderstood if it were taken to mean automatic approval of arms policies of any kind.

Bonn may abide by its Nato commitment. Continued on page 2.



### Fireside chat

President Reagan (left) and the Governing Mayor of West Berlin, Richard von Weizsäcker, at the White House. The special problems of Berlin and the Geneva disarmament talks were among the topics during von Weizsäcker's four-day visit.

(Photo: dpa)



## WORLD AFFAIRS

Euro missiles:  
would a  
plebiscite help?

A Constitutional Court Judge, Holmut Simon, has suggested that a referendum be held on the issue of whether missiles should be stationed in Germany. His suggestion was aimed at helping to relax domestic political tension.

What is the point of a referendum? Judge Simon's proposal is for a consultative referendum, which by definition would not be binding on the Bundestag.

If it were held, either the Bundestag or a sufficiently large number of people (the crucial factor in any legal arrangement) could insist on a referendum before any specific major political decision was taken.

But the result of the referendum would merely serve as a basis for further discussion and not be binding on bodies constitutionally entrusted with the task of reaching final decisions.

Yet the closer one scrutinises the idea of a consultative referendum to offset the lack of provisions for a plebiscite in Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, the more heavily the counter-arguments seem to weigh.

A merely consultative referendum would run the risk of making the gap in political legitimacy that was to be bridged even wider.

What, for instance, if the referendum were to go against stationing the new missiles in Germany but the government and the Bundestag were to give it the go-ahead, which they would still be entitled to do?

It would be an unenviable choice. Either the will of the people would be disregarded or it would have to be admitted that the leeway allegedly to be retained by constitutional organs had become a sheer farce.

What issues would be liable to be dealt with in a referendum: whether foreign residents should be allowed to stay in Germany, for instance?

What if the people were to be asked two different questions simultaneously that had been demagogically reduced to a seemingly simple alternative?

This is not even to mention the fact that opinion polls can establish exactly what views the public hold on a given issue as it is.

Helmut Simon is a staunch supporter of constitutional freedom. Only someone who did not know him could possibly imagine he was unaware of all these problems.

He himself admits that his proposal is a makeshift solution, so those who dislike it will at least appreciate that even Judge Simon realises it is far from perfect.

Limits are everywhere in evidence: in security policy, atomic energy, ecology as a whole, scarce resources, genetic engineering and so on.

They cannot be overstepped without letting chaos loose. Trial and error as the path to progress are no longer appropriate. Even a single error could be the last.

So it seems reasonable to ask whether there might not be issues on which a majority cannot be in favour today and against tomorrow.

That is why some people, including another Judge, feel the missile debate

is not a political issue. It is, they argue, a matter of life and death.

Even though this argument elevates a partial aspect of security policy to the level of the absolute without due cause the idea fairly underlines the finite nature of political processes.

The problem is that this realisation of constitutional limits can lead to diametrically opposite conclusions.

While one may argue that the majority mechanism breaks down on certain issues it is also true that in the final analysis all political issues amount to a choice between yes and no, between majority and minority.

Even if Helmut Simon were right in saying that the death penalty is another issue on which a political vote is impossible he would have to admit that it was abolished by a political vote.

It follows that in situations in which majority decisions are extremely controversial the majority and minority are even more heavily committed to mediation and to reach an understanding.

There must be neither a high-handed use of the majority position nor an arbitrary decision to pull out of the constitutional set-up.

When a majority vote is imminent that is going to make heavy demands on the minority because it is of such fundamental significance the majority is duty-bound to state its case and be ready to discuss matters.

This is the time for the full extent of debate that justifies democracy over and above its formal procedures. The majority never rules; it merely governs.

That, perhaps, is the main point Helmut Simon has sought to make with his dubious proposal for a referendum. If it is, it is a valid one.

Robert Leicht  
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20 June 1983)

Continued from page 1

ments and agree if need be to the stationing of new US missiles in Germany, but it will do so solely because it realises it has to. The aim is still to end the arms race.

The German government must continue to stress the need for results at Geneva. Friendship with America need hardly suffer from constant reminders that this must be the target.

Ralf Lehmann  
(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 1983)

Polish officials breathe easy  
again as the Pope departs

Top-ranking officials of the Communist regime in Warsaw must have breathed a sigh of relief when the Pope reached the end of his visit to Poland and flew back to Rome.

This relief may well have been shared by Western politicians who feared that in the wake of the Pope's visit uncontrollable mass reactions might prompt harsh counter-measures by the Polish security forces.

In Nova Huta tens of thousands of Poles demonstrated in support of the banned Solidarity trade union while the notorious security police looked on in unaccustomed idleness.

Any dramatic development in this connection would have strengthened the hand of opponents of the Papal visit among doctrinaire Party officials and weakened that of General Jaruzelski and Communist reformers led by Vice-Premier Rakowski.

The visit gave millions of Poles an opportunity of demonstrating to the

world at large their religious convictions (political too, under an atheist regime).

They were the Papal "divisions" about which Stalin sarcastically inquired, and Polish Communists will have their work cut out countering the effect of the Pope's sermons.

Moscow has been tellingly tipped off about the entire business so far.

Yet the visit upgraded the Polish military regime, which was previously internationally isolated, and General Jaruzelski personally too.

His invitation to the Pope was a dangerous and daring decision that could yet play a part in defusing Poland's dangerous contradictions even though the dialogue might initially be limited to Party and Church.

This being so, an easing of Western sanctions could strengthen the position of Polish moderates.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 24 June 1983)

Expenditure on armaments  
'just keeps growing'

Between 1979 and 1982 world arms expenditure increased by 4 per cent a year, twice the rate of the previous four years.

That is one of the findings of the 14th survey of arms and disarmament published by the International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Stockholm.

The 1983 report expects no immediate results at the main Geneva disarmament talks on intermediate nuclear forces and strategic arms reduction.

It is a report that will not disappoint the pessimists. Its findings do not support any hopes of making peace with fewer weapons. On the contrary.

Military spending is said to have increased by leaps and bounds. So have the development and production of new weapons, the arms trade and the development of sea and space theatres for the next war.

As for positive developments in arms control and disarmament, the SIPRI findings are short and anything but sweet: there have been none.

Even a rough and ready look at the facts ought to make advocates of security policy along mainly military lines think twice.

Between 1979 and 1982 arms expenditure increased by four per cent per annum, or roughly twice as fast as during the previous four years.

SIPRI estimates total arms spending in 1982 to have amounted to between \$700bn and \$750bn. The international arms trade is still booming, having achieved a growth rate of 80 per cent since 1978.

In 1982 the United States carried out 17 nuclear tests, the largest since 1970, while the Soviet Union's 31 nuclear tests were the largest number in any one year since 1963.

British and French arms programmes, if they go ahead according to plan, are likely to increase the number of Anglo-French missile warheads aimed at targets in the Soviet Union from 386 to roughly 2,000 over the next 15 years.

The head of SIPRI, Frank Blackaby, urgently notes the problems the British

and French systems create for new talks.

The Soviet Union demands a conclusion in any agreement, and France strongly disagrees.

"In relation to the balance between East and West," he says, "the arguments for excluding the two are weak."

"It is merely playing with words," he says, "they are national strategies. So are the SS-20s and the Shingls and Cruise missiles."

"Britain and France are under a delusion if they think they can increase the number of heads aimed at targets without prompting a response from the Soviet Union."

The SIPRI authors are not any immediate outcome at the current Geneva talks on INF (Intermediate Nuclear Forces), and Start (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty).

They blame political terms of balance-of-power there is no justification in terms.

They say the Start talks are long time, whereas any success at the INF talks will be achieved on any missile modernisation.

The stationing of large new US missiles in Western Europe was a new stage in the arms race between Nato and the Warsaw Pact.

SIPRI expects some progress on governments by the present. Politicians are having public opinion in mind more before.

But the public will need to be comprehensively informed, and the SIPRI Yearbook which they have come up with against the limits of official secrecy.

An increasing number of people are interested in the subject and in a position to read the detailed information listed in the yearbook.

Once again no German public felt able to run the risk of a German edition of this 700-page yearbook.

The Bonn government could not translate the yearbook into German for Federal Political Education, but Bonn is unlikely to want to give even more sensitive information.

Karl-Heinz Hoffmann  
(Deutsches Allgemeine, 24 June 1983)

## The German Tribune

Editor: Friedrich Ruckwies, Editor-in-Chief: Alexander Arnsperg, Editor: sub-editor: Simon Burwell - Distribution: Georgina Phipps

Friedrich Ruckwies Verlag GmbH, 21 Schwanenburger Str., 22551 Hamburg 75, Tel. 22 85 1, Telex: 02-5472

Advertising rates: Net No. 11 - Annual subscription: Dfl 45

Printed by Druck- und Verlagsanstalt Friedrich Ruckwies, Hamburg, Germany. Published in the USA by M.H. 1983, Inc., 540 West 24th Street, New York 10011

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE publishes in cooperation with the editors of leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of Germany are published in the original language. No translations are published.

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Advertisements should be sent to: The German Tribune, 21 Schwanenburger Str., 22551 Hamburg 75, Germany.

## HOME AFFAIRS

Plain speaking  
on issue of  
Germany

Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Bonn government is not so worried about the feeling of the German Democratic Republic as was the former East German government.

The government is intent on maintaining a policy of encouraging talks and reconciliation. But it is less inclined to use words about the problems.

Chancellor Kohl made his first address in the Bundestag at the end of June, the speech was his full original title: Report of the State of the Nation in Divided Germany.

He restores the latter part of the title which had been dropped during the time of the GDR.

Kohl's speech and subsequent speeches by Alfred Dregger, leader of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group, and Intra-German Affairs Minister, Heinrich Wundt, greater emphasis put on the problems of a divided Germany than other governments.

They emphasised the idea of a national unity, particularly in the European context. Once again, a German Chancellor openly expressed the commitment of the German Basic Law to reunification.

There was an unvarnished description of the German realities of the Berlin Wall, barbed wire and the order to shoot on the border between East and West Germany, and the expatriation of German citizens.

However, such clearly pitched comments do not weaken the willingness of Bonn government to cooperate with the GDR in the interests of peace.

A policy of seeking dialogue and reconciliation will be continued.

The deterioration of the political climate following the deaths on the Garmou-Garmou border and the cancellation of the visit to West Germany by East German leader, Erich Honecker, have not adversely affected the interest shown by the GDR in maintaining discussions with the Federal Republic.

Even the emotional discussion on the missile deployment issue cannot change this fact.

Soon after Honecker had turned down the invitation to visit the Federal Republic, he stated that the visit has only been postponed.

The GDR economics official, Günter Mittag, virtually said the same thing during talks in Bonn.

The head of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group, Alfred Dregger, remarked that he was most impressed by the talks with Mittag. Dregger will probably soon visit East Germany.

The GDR is primarily hoping for economic and financial benefits in its dealing with the Federal Republic. Under the symbolic umbrella of unity (disputed by the GDR), the GDR benefits from EEC's customs concessions.

Prospects for cooperation have not worsened since the change in Bonn. The current plain speaking only means that false hopes are not raised.

But over the next few years efforts by Bonn to steady its own budget will mean that East Berlin will not be able to expect too much, certainly no expensive transport schemes.

Kohl pointed out that inner-German trade went up by 13 per cent last year and the government wants to increase that. There is also interest in cooperation in energy and ecology policies.

Travelling difficulties and obligatory currency exchange for visitors to the GDR remain big problems.

Hans Jörg Sottorf  
(Landesblatt, 24 June 1983)

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Hans Jörg Sottorf  
(Landesblatt, 24 June 1983)

Euro policies  
spark clash  
in Bundestag

liberate efforts towards European solidarity.

In Stuttgart we made the decisions which could be expected of us at this time.

In Kohl's opinion, it is most unrealistic to expect such a summit meeting to solve the problems of future Community, financial, budgetary discipline, and the adjustment of the Common Agricultural Policy "for all ten summit nations at the same time and once and for all".

The Council has set deadlines and it is hoped that the desired results will be obtained soon.

The Stuttgart "package deal" takes into account the German desire for a more limited budgetary dynamics, financial cutbacks and restructuring.

Future negotiations on this point are likely to be difficult, said the Chancellor. There are only thin chances of success if such negotiations are carried out in a mood of mutual trust and a spirit of solidarity.

Kohl described the following as successes during the German presidency: the reform of the social fund, improvement of goods traffic, and the completion of work on the guidelines program.

Berni Conrad  
(Die Welt, 23 June 1983)

Minister's remark changes  
Kohl's debate plans

It looks as if Bonn's Minister for Youth, Family Affairs and Health, Heiner Geissler, messed up Chancellor Kohl's original plan for delivering the state-of-the-nation address in the Bundestag.

The thoughtless and historically untenable remark by Geissler that pacifism during the 1930s can be claimed to be responsible for the fact that such a thing as mass murder could occur in Auschwitz meant that Chancellor Kohl was forced to change his programme.

He was hoping to show Parliament and the public what his *Deutschlandpolitik* would look like during his period in office as Chancellor.

However, the Opposition took advantage of Geissler's faux pas and redirected a great deal of the content and style of the subsequent debate on the state-of-the-nation speech.

It was clear right from the start that the SPD's demand for Geissler's dismissal as Minister had no chance of being successful. The Free Democrats were not interested in leaving Geissler standing out in the cold when it came to the final vote.

The only FDP Bundestag member to abstain was Hildegard Hamm-Brücher.

Nevertheless, Opposition leader Hans-Jochen Vogel and his team did score other successes during the debate.

They managed to get the discussion on Geissler's slip-up onto the agenda during the best TV-viewing time.

They forced the Chancellor to make his way to the rostrum a second time just after he had sat down after making his policy speech. He was obliged to protect and support his Minister, who was under fire from almost all sides.

Hans-Jochen Vogel: "I don't wish to associate Helmut Kohl and your party with neo-Nazi activities, but..."

Or Parliamentary Secretary Fischer from the Greens: "Did Hitler come to power with the help of foreign countries, or wasn't it more a case of support from your German National predecessors, the Hugenburgs and Pupens, the Krupps and the Flicks?"

Such comments were, of course, bound to lead to emotional scenes.

The Chancellor retorted: "We have no need to prove that we know what domestic and anti-Nazi attitudes mean, or 'neither the chairman of the CDU nor the general secretary of this party need prove this to anyone. Their own life histories speak for themselves.'"

In the end, Geissler did back down the way he should have done a week ago.

The Minister admitted that he should have rounded off his remarks by adding that racial hatred and National Socialism were really to blame for Auschwitz.

Geissler went even further. In his opinion, it would have been better not to have mentioned Auschwitz at all. Instead, he should have said that the pacifist mood prevalent in western democracies during the 30s made the "war" possible in the first place.

Too late. The term "Auschwitz" has now become a part of the current political discussion in Germany.

The unfortunate thing is that Geissler didn't use the expression first. He was only referring to a statement made by the Greens in an interview when he made his remark.

The Greens regard the coming deployment of Nato missiles as a possible "nuclear Auschwitz".

This virtually puts Nato defence policy on the same level as the Nazi war crimes.

Gisbert Kuhn  
(Köster Nachrichten, 24 June 1983)



## Vogel's first term in charge: there's no one else in sight



**H**ans-Jochen Vogel, the leader of the SPD parliamentary party in the Bundestag since 8 March, has avoided making any serious mistakes during his first 100 days as Opposition leader.

"I expected to come up against big, very big problems...", Vogel admits. "In terms of those expectations, things have gone pretty well."

Although Vogel's appraisal of his own performance since his party's general election defeat sounds rather restrained, there is no trace of faint-heartedness.

Just one week before the Bundestag's summer recess, Vogel feels that he has done a good job and has "kept the outfit together". This is more than many pessimists had predicted.

The Social Democratic Party, which lost a great deal of support during the March elections, is still in the process of waking up to new political realities. After 16 years in government, the new role of Opposition party takes some getting used to.

Even leading politicians in the party's parliamentary group are still adjusting. The general mood within the party is still a mixture of praise, criticism, resignation and enthusiasm.

Vogel remains through it all a rock of stability. Is he the SPD's one-man band?

Vogel is aware of the complicated and jumbled-up situation in his party, but he is not too keen to call a spade a spade.

Some of his party colleagues, who wish to remain nameless, criticise his style of leadership or complain about his political vision.

Others are equally vehement in their enthusiasm and support for his style and inane remarks.

It is difficult to get a clear picture of Vogel's popularity within his own party. Remarks made by two of the party's top-level politicians prove the point. One refers to the "very good mood" within the party, whereas the other states that the SPD's parliamentary group is "about to explode".

The truth of the matter is that there is at present no alternative in the SPD to Hans-Jochen Vogel, whose predecessor as parliamentary party leader was the "old man" of German politics, Herbert Wehner.

This is why criticism is being toned down and praise is being given freely.

When asked to give a rundown of his "acid test", Vogel referred to the fact that during his period as Opposition leader in Berlin's House of Representatives he only had 50 politicians to lead. In the Bundestag there are 201.

It's certainly not easy to carry on where Herbert Wehner left off.

After all, four fifths of the Social Democrats in the Bundestag have never experienced what it is like to be in an Opposition party.

After being ousted from government, there was a great danger that the party would wallow in self-criticism and even start tearing itself apart.

Vogel sees himself as in the main a man of the executive. In the face of the post-election uncertainties, he has focussed more attention on getting to grips with the party's organisational structures than many believe necessary.

Against substantial opposition, centred around Hans Apel, he pushed through an organisational model which tailored the party's political leadership to his own person and eight deputies. These eight shadow ministers are responsible for the parliamentary party's political activities.

In addition, there are five parliamentary secretaries. Together with the eight shadow ministers and Vogel himself, they form the parliamentary party executive, the Opposition real decision-making body.

Many party colleagues refer to this mode of organisation as "departmental administration", a play on the Vogel's Berlin days. In Berlin, he was accustomed to having a party apparatus beneath him, rather than having to come to terms with men and women of an equal parliamentary status.

The pressure to conform to his hierarchical set-up seems to be one of the major internal problems in the SPD parliamentary party, although Vogel's intention is not to suppress originality.

Among the circle of Vogel's closest colleagues, there is a down-to-earth assessment of the new leadership structure: "We can react much faster politically than we used to; we can recognise internal conflicts and solve them much earlier."

However, the centralist structure does run the risk of allowing only the closest top politicians to get publicity, whereas the non-prominent members of the party find it more difficult to gain attention.

Many feel that the flexibility shown by Vogel on this point will decide on Vogel's success in the long run.

"The man is used to monocracy."

**6 It looks as though  
chance is the  
thing he is most  
frightened of**

structures; now, he's surrounded by people who have gathered their own political experience... He should perhaps show greater confidence in their abilities. This will make or break him in the long run."

Vogel is a punctuality fanatic, a workaholic and an ardent letter-writer. He prefers to jot down notes rather than rely on his memory.

Although he has a committed way about him, he is mainly concerned about the issues at stake.

In a nutshell, Vogel is no easy boss. His fellow Social Democrats have got used to this, even though they still moan and groan as they always have done.

Vogel is convinced that bureaucratic organisation is a means of making more controllable a political structure which is difficult to control.

Horst Ehmke, one of Vogel's eight deputies, and a man who brims over

with self-confidence, is "quite satisfied" with the system of organisation. In his words, Vogel is doing a "pretty good job politically", which is praised indeed from the otherwise restrained Ehmke. As Ehmke points out, anyone who wants to convince him (Ehmke) of the necessity of a party political move must be willing to discuss it openly. Many see Ehmke as Vogel's right-hand man, although officially there is no such thing. Are the majority of Social Democrats in the Bundestag as satisfied with Vogel as Ehmke is? There are of course various groupings. The former strong arm of the parliamentary party, the so-called *Kanalarbeiter* group, still exists but has become weaker.

Ever since the personnel struggles have become less important, and as Hertha Dübler-Gmelin remarks "more time is spent talking about issues rather than personalities", the internal formation of party opinion moves along new lines.

The right-wing and the left-wing seem to have become weaker, the "centre" appears to gained in strength. The influence of Hans Apel, an intellectual spokesman for a centre-right movement, should not be underestimated here.

There are irreconcilabilities on both sides.

Herta Dübler-Gmelin (left-wing): "Apel? Yes, a definitely pleasant character."

Gerhard Schröder, another party left-winger, also had nothing critical to say about Hans-Jochen Vogel: "I really like his style."

In Schröder's opinion, the way the party discussed the missile deployment issue was a prime example of this new style. Vogel gives "other opinions a fair chance", "doesn't steamroller his opponents", "handles opposition very well", "shows a clear political intention". Schröder feels that Vogel should "keep to his present style".

And as if this weren't enough praise, Schröder advises him not to "take the vanities of his subordinates into consideration".

Although prestige plays a part in the different assessments of Vogel by his colleagues in the parliamentary party, the motives are also connected with the differing opinions on issues.

Many party colleagues who object to Vogel's political style are really objecting to the political course he is taking.

It could be described as a "course of integration", once a stumbling-block for party chairman Willy Brandt, and felt by many to have too much of a leaning to the left. In fact, some feel that Vogel is leading the party towards



Across the big divide... Hans-Jochen Vogel (left) and Helmut Schmidt.

a (left-wing) fringe area of ideas.

The internal dispute shows which tries to describe the relationship to the peace movement sign of this conflict, which has been covered up by Vogel's want position.

Together with the immediate of "keeping the outfit together" Vogel is hoping to establish the SPD as the party in Opposition.

This accounts for the hesitancy which motions, Parliamentary and draft bills have been in the Bundestag.

Insy-bewavering by the SPD the other Opposition party, the CDU, is still a problem.

However, there is still a great uncertainty as to what is going to happen next year, after the year 1983 is over.

Many talk of the elaboration of a new economic and social policy, the help many of the unions and structural crisis.

At the moment, there is no seeking new parliamentary Grand Coalition is only a matter of time.

Next year, Vogel will be the deputy chairmanship of the CDU from Helmut Schmidt. This will, however, strengthen his position.

In his reply to Chancellor Schmidt's policy speech on 4 May, Vogel assured that the SPD was returning to government solely as a result of any catastrophe.

"We are going to practice non-obstruction", he said.

Vogel is probably hoping for cooperation with his own group will be equally concerned.

With an eye to the fact that party member is bothered by a "re-audacious" approach and form he says: "We do not prevent creativity, but chance developments."

And it looks as though change is coming. Hans-Jochen Vogel is a man of most.

Martin E. Schmidt

(Süddeutsche Zeitung)

## THE EEC

## Leaders cobble together a massive all-or-nothing package deal

Common Market leaders have put together the biggest package of measures the European Community has had to handle.

The package was put together at the summit. Several parts are in part now depends on the whole, including the DM1.7bn rebate on Britain's contribution to the 1983 EEC budget.

An agreement is not reached on the package by December, the deadline for the 1984 budget, Britain's rebate probably need to be shelved too.

The package also exists between ratification of the new EEC financial framework and ratification of membership for Spain and Portugal.

It is to be submitted simultaneously to national parliaments. EEC leaders were confident in Stuttgart that it would be the case by mid-1984.

The five problems tied up in a single package in Stuttgart were:

- the future of the European Community's finances;
- the development of Community policies;
- issues related to expansion of the Common Market;
- "special problems of a number of member-states in the budgetary sector," which means the fact that Britain and Germany pay more into the EEC than they get back; and
- the economy package, or as the communiqué put it, "the need for strict budgetary discipline."

The order in which they are listed is accidental and in no way indicative of priorities. The Stuttgart communiqué hardly said to specify details to the Council of Ministers.

The targets are listed. How they are achieved is left to be seen. It will be up to the European Commission to get to work on them.

Britain has been instructed to draft two proposals by the beginning of August when the EEC's summer recess starts.

One is to deal with a reform of the Common Agricultural Policy, the other possible changes to the regional social fund and structural aid to agriculture.

Greece, as chairman of the Common Market in the second half of 1983, will likely to be able to hold the first session of the Council of Ministers before the recess.

The main objective of reforms is engaged in the summit communiqué is the one hand to modernise existing policies and make them more effective and on the other hand ensuring that policies carried out at no further cost and money wherever possible.

The United States says this turns world market prices upside down and increasingly forces American producers out of traditional markets.

It is easy to see why the Americans are annoyed: there are mountains of foodgrain and lakes of wine stockpiled in the EEC; cut-price butter is sold to the Soviet Union and cut-price poultry to the Middle East.

The United States has called on the European Community to rejoin its agricultural policy in such a way that social security is provided for farmers but without giving an incentive to produce farm surpluses.

The Americans are not interested in what the Common Market does inter-

crease their contributions to the EEC immediately.

The main opponents were Britain and Germany, although both were persuaded to indicate that they would be prepared to go ahead with any increase in VAT revenue on which the Ten might agree.

Development of Community policies: This must be taken to mean both the improvement of existing policies and agreement on new ones.

The Stuttgart summit resolved to promote further EEC activities in research, innovation and new technologies. The heads of government for one felt collaboration would cut out duplication.

By ending duplication in research work governments would be making a contribution to more effective use of public money.

They would also be helping to improve the competitiveness of European companies, as for instance by means of the Esprit programme (short for European Special Programme for Research and Development in Information Technology).

In response to a special request by both Germany and France the following passage was included in the Stuttgart communiqué:

"Environmental protection, employment opportunities, especially for the young, and welfare policies are to be given equal priority."

No mention was made of anything more specific.

Issues related to Common Market expansion: This mainly means protection of farmers in Italy, southern France and Greece once Spain and Portugal join the EEC.

The amount of Mediterranean products marketed within the EEC will in-

crease dramatically once Spain and Portugal join.

Farmers are worried prices might plummet and clamour for price guarantees similar to those available for agricultural produce further north, such as milk and wheat.

Here too the summit communiqué does not go into details.

The contribution problems of Britain and Germany: The aim, in summitease, is "to arrive at measures that on balance prevent the constantly recurring problems between member-countries on the financial repercussions of the Community budget and its financing."

Several strategies are under consideration. The EEC budget will need to be rejigged in such a way to ensure that two thirds does not go on the Common Agricultural policy.

Britain derives very little benefit from the existing system because it exports very little farm produce and imports a great deal.

Another approach would be to graduate the funds remitted by individual countries to Brussels in accordance with "objective criteria," such as GNP or agricultural output.

There must definitely be no more annual debates on the amount Britain is to be reimbursed and how much Germany is to contribute toward the rebate.

Stricter budgetary discipline: The main sector in which discipline needs enforcing is agriculture.

Common Market leaders are agreed that the fundamental principles of agricultural policy ought to be retained, but they would like to see effective control of agricultural spending.

No specific reference was made to a reduction. All that was said in the com-

muniqué was that: "All member-countries must make their contribution toward the savings that need to be effected."

Views differ on how the Common Agricultural Policy can be changed. On this point the debate is evidently back to square one.

Germany would very much like to amend price policies, guarantees for individual products or make producers partly responsible.

In other words, farmers would have to foot part of the bill for surplus production.

The French favour a different approach. They note that the market prospects for European fodder grain are hit by high imports of soya products from overseas.

So they would like to see import restrictions imposed on soybean products, which would be sure to rouse America's ire.

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On 17 March the Bundesbank announced that it had reduced the key lending rate by a princely figure of one per cent in an effort to stimulate the economy. The President of Germany's central bank, Karl Otto Pöhl, felt that he had gone to "the limit of that which is acceptable" in making this move.

On the same day, however, the interest rates for mortgages, which had been declining for months, suddenly began to rise once more.

The coincidence of both events made it look as if the basics of economic theory had gone haywire.

Last week, the head of the German Mortgage Association, Hans Günther Schönmann, referred to a "Frankenstein on the capital market" when speaking of the latest federal loan. At eight-and-three-quarter per cent it seemed to indicate that the downward trend for interest rates is changing direction.

Talking to mortgage bankers last week, Herr Pöhl admitted that he no longer knows what is happening. As one earwitness quotes, Germany's top monetary official pointed out that there are three possibilities: either the interest rate will rise, or it will fall, or it will stay where it is.

It is very difficult to fathom out the reasons why mortgage societies are not towing the general interest-rate line.

They viewed Pöhl's generous gesture as the delayed confirmation of an interest rate reduction which already existed on the capital market. In their opinion, there is no chance of a further drop in interest rates in the immediate future.

### Increases all round

For this reason, they have loaded higher annuities onto their house-builders.

However, those wishing to build and own their own homes are not the only ones hit by the unexpected turnabout on the capital market. Short-term loans will also cost more. The Federal Republic is in the process of being bowled over by a new wave of interest rate increases.

The treasurers in Bonn, consistently forced to borrow on account of the gaps in the budget, were the first to show the way.

In an effort to keep the solvent citizens and enterprises happy and motivated to hand over their money, the government borrowers have increased their interest rates for savings bonds, Federal treasury bonds and other financial instruments. The lowest rate is now almost six per cent, and other credit lenders will soon be forced to follow suit.

Investors were pleased, economic experts pessimistic. As Pöhl told his banking colleagues, the turnabout in interest rates has got him worried.

He is worried that this new upward trend for interest rates may well dampen the emerging general mood of optimism in the economy.

As Pöhl pointed out: "After all, the drop in interest rates was one of the pillars of the gradually discernible economic upswing."

The head of the Bundesbank could do nothing but stand by and watch as the pillar began to crumble.

In a mood of resignation, Pöhl emphasised: "Once again, it has become clear how closely linked our interest rate is to that of the US dollar."

The borrowing of dollars has just become more expensive — the most serious result of the unsuccessful economic summit in Williamsburg.

Originally, the heads of government

## THE ECONOMY

# Interest rates over-rated as a recovery killer

had quite the reverse in mind. They were hoping to be able to persuade President Reagan to adopt a course of interest-rate reduction.

Reagan's guests in Williamsburg could have saved themselves the journey. There was no way the President was going to cut down the huge budgetary deficit of \$200bn.

However, all those at the conference (with the exception of the Americans, of course) realised that if this figure is not reduced there will be no reduction in the dollar interest rates.

Washington's "never-never" approach is a signal to the backs and stock exchanges that the government still needs more money — hence, the high interest rates.

The current yield for capital investors in the United States is about 11 per cent. As Pöhl pointed out, many fat-walled German businessmen find it hard to resist this kind of temptation.

Top-level failure in Williamsburg meant that there was only one thing Germany could do: increase interest rates. And this is exactly what is happening at the moment.

Politicians, economic experts and monetary officials, who were still in middle of their upswing build-up, were stunned by this hard fact of life.

There was no hiding the pessimism which has now replaced the exaggerated optimism shown earlier on in the year.

Even the German Minister for Economic Affairs, Count Otto Lambsdorff, couldn't offer any pick-me-ups. During the debate in the Bundestag on the government's annual economic report, he expressed his fears that the latest interest-rate development may well endanger growth prospects.

Opposition politicians, Hans-Jochen Vogel and Manfred Lahnstein, all too readily took the opportunity to gloatingly lament that Chancellor Kohl may not create the upswing after all.

Complaints by politicians are superfluous. In reality, the interest rate is only marginally significant for economic development.

Rising interest rates cannot throttle the boom, just as a reduction in interest rates is unable to force an economic upswing.

According to economic theory, cheap borrowing stimulates the economy as it induces consumers to buy on credit, and firms are able to finance new investments more easily. None of this is true in practice.

Factory installations are so under-utilised at the moment that a growing demand could quite easily be catered for via existing capacities.

Even if the interest rates were extremely low, businesses have no reason to expand.

The renewal of depreciated equipment is planned by industry many years in advance. Interest-rate movements do not exert that great an influence on such plans.

When it comes to plant construction, most firms don't bother to invest if the only way to do so is via favourable financing.

On the other hand, if a firm has a new product, it will invest in market launching come what may.

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Barkhorst Müller-Klötner from the Reconstruction Loan Corporation in Frankfurt, an institution which finances risk investments, notes:

"The effect of the interest rate should not be overrated. Interesting innovations are necessary when the time comes. Action has to be taken just, even if there are unfavourable interest rates."

Year-on-year reports by the Association of Independent German Business Men (ASU) confirm the relative insignificance of credit costs in the eyes of managers.

On a rating scale of the 12 most serious problems facing German companies, the interest rates, as Association secretary Dieter Tenhoff remarks, "are surprisingly among the last four."

Even in 1981, when interest rates were extremely high, the cost of borrowing only ranked in tenth position.

Consumers show themselves to be even more robust with regard to interest rates than the business world.

If they haven't got the necessary ready cash, they are more than willing to allow retailers to finance the purchase of TVs, fridges and new clothes, no matter how high the cost of borrowing.

The big mail-order firms, which make buying on credit easier by allowing the customer to put a cross against the desired mode of payment, have been finding this out for years.

One member of the Neckermann (mail-order firm) board of directors, Werner Piotrowski, sees the increase of on-credit buying as a result of "the lower levels of disposable incomes. Consumers don't care about the interest rate levels."

The same goes for the Hamburg-based mail-order firm Ottobrock: "There is no correlation whatsoever between interest rate levels and borrowing."

This sector, therefore, which suffered its first turnover drop since the war last year, is not unduly concerned about the development of interest rates.

Their limited expectations with regard to future business prospects are due to a different reason: the incomes of the mass of the population are stagnating.

## Anonymous bankers

German bankers, who at present finance private consumption to the tune of about DM145bn, have had the same experience as retail traders.

The level of interest rates has "no effect whatsoever" on the demand for consumer credits.

And one major banker confirmed that there is "no connection at all" in this respect.

However, none of those questioned want to be quoted. The monetary managers seemed to be scared of waking sleeping dogs.

If their customers suddenly start taking a closer look at the interest rates before buying their cars, video recorders or jewellery, the banks might lose out on profitable business.

Experts who show out what makes Mr Average tick feel, however, that such worries are exaggerated.

As Carmen Lakaschus, Frankfurt-based organisational search into marketing and underlines, the man on the go is going to allow his willingness to be affected by interest rates.

Two other factors are more for this decision: unemployment and inflation.

As the inflation rate has been comforting three per cent, the man is heavily in sign of relief.

As Lakaschus points out, "people don't understand the level of interest rates."

There are only a few cases of "cheap" money spending. Samson on to buy more. Even the motives are very complex.

The furniture industry, for example, has had a sudden run on production of the year.

The reason was not so much favourable credit terms for those up to family, but the fact that the instalment savings agreement released at the start of the year.

The furniture trade recorded a ver increase of 13 per cent in the first quarter of 1983.

## Credit and cash

Better credit terms for cash are more important. One in two men cars is ordered on a credit.

German car-owners owe private money-lenders about 1.5 billion DM. This would suggest that the interest rates is not merely cost accompanied by an increase in the number of cars registered.

The link between easier credit and the stimulation of the economy is particularly obvious in the construction industry.

Ever since the mortgage rate has been brought down, there has been between 50 and 80 per cent increase in orders each month.

In May 1981 the effective interest for five-year mortgages was 12 per cent; by March this year it had dropped to about 8 per cent.

Someone wishing to buy a house on the city outskirts, for 80 per cent of the money now reckon on a monthly instalment of DM2,100. Two years ago, he would have had to pay DM3,000.

Mortgage banks are having a hard time at the moment. Fifty per cent more residential-building loans granted during the first four months of 1983 than at the end of last year.

Even the now rising interest rates which are three-quarters of a per cent up on the lowest level registered in March, will adversely affect the residential building.

Many potential builders/owners applying for loans fast will see the likelihood of a renewed upward trend in interest rates.

This is at least one positive reaction to the concerned reaction to the rate turnabout by Count Lambsdorff and Bundesbank President Pöhl.

Admittedly, the louder they hear their worries about the risk of interest rates killing economic recovery, more businesses are likely to be given up hope altogether.

Politicians were not able to take the economic upswing into life. If not careful, their pessimistic may talk the promising firm that upswing to death.

Wolfgang Gehrmann, Heine Blüthmann

Heine Blüthmann

Heine Blüthmann

## FINANCE

# Treachery lurks behind a gay springtime mood

more than willing to buy trawlers, tractors and other places of machinery from us if we showed an interest in their silk embroidery or pig's bristle.

The same applies to Africa. If we showed a marked preference for precious woods, citrus fruits and coffee, we could export a greater number of goods to this continent.

As it is, these things have meant very little to us up to now. We are only then interested in these products if we can buy them at ridiculously low prices (in terms of the efforts made to produce them). This applies to many products from Third World countries.

Or let's be honest, which of us would be willing to work an extra half-hour to be able to buy a glass of orange juice?

And yet this is exactly what is necessary if the efforts of a German industrial worker are to be rewarded in the same way as those of a Moroccan agricultural worker.

OK, no-one is going to criticise the German worker for earning as much as he can during his 40 or 35-hour week, trying to get as much holiday time as possible, or making sure that there is a full system of social welfare benefits and good pension schemes.

But the German worker need not be surprised if Indian and Brazilian farmers will never be in a position to buy the products the German worker produces, even though the "need" is there.

Up to now, we have tried to cover up this interrelationship by seemingly increasing the purchasing ability of our customers via lending them the money needed.

We realised that we had been fooling ourselves when our "customers" were not even able to pay back the interest on the loans we had granted them.

The deceptive appearance gave way to harsh realities. At the prices which we believe our goods and services to be worth, there is only limited international demand for such goods and services.

This fact applies not only to the relationship between the industrialised and developing countries, but also to individual domestic markets.

Certain social strata which could be demand factors behave in a similar way towards the suppliers of certain services.

The Chinese, for example, would be

more than willing to buy trawlers, tractors and other places of machinery from us if we showed an interest in their silk embroidery or pig's bristle.

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We realised that we had been fooling ourselves when our "customers" were not even able to pay back the interest on the loans we had granted them.

The deceptive appearance gave way to harsh realities. At the prices which we believe our goods and services to be worth, there is only limited international demand for such goods and services.

This fact applies not only to the relationship between the industrialised and developing countries, but also to individual domestic markets.

Certain social strata which could be demand factors behave in a similar way towards the suppliers of certain services.

The Chinese, for example, would be

They are not willing to provide particularly innovative and creative services — even if there is a demand for them — in exchange for freshly-painted windows, a weeded rose-bed or another tie.

They prefer to do without another tie and leave the windows unpainted (or paint them themselves).

And this is our dilemma! When it comes to economic upswing and full employment, it is not the need of those really "in need" which counts, whether nationally (this is a cardinal error of the union way of thinking) or internationally (an error of the trade policies practised during the past two decades).

More decisive is the need of those social strata and nations to provide goods and services for which others are willing to make great efforts to buy.

Even if it sounds paradoxical to many: the needs of the well-to-do provide the primary impulse for economic growth and full employment, not those of society's poor.

The so-called locomotive theory, which states that the most powerful industrialised countries should get their economies moving to drag the other out of international economic recession, reflects part of this realisation.

However, it neglects a second aspect of the realisation, namely that the laws which apply internationally also apply to the domestic markets.

The supporting thrust of the economically powerful groups are needed if the economy is to be stimulated.

This does not mean the rich have to be made richer.

It does however imply that a new balance is needed. In an effort to establish such a balance, the economically more powerful must reach a compromise with those who are so well-off.

This is particularly true at an international level.

So long as products from developing countries are not allowed to "cost anything" here, such countries will never be able to become true customers of industrialised countries.

This also applies to the economic and social relations within highly industrialised countries. Economic upswing cannot last unless the more powerful economic groups are motivated to make it last.

Without such motivation, the economic upswing and the fight against unemployment are dooged by almost insurmountable obstacles.

These obstacles must be removed if society is to be changed and such objectives achieved.

Dr Meinhard Miegel  
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 17 June 1983)

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## Telling lack of clanging at the retail till

Economic trend reports and restrained economic forecasts made by the major trading companies recently would indicate that 1983 looks like outdoing 1982 as the most difficult post-war year ever for retail trading.

The turnover, profit margin and economic performance figures speak for themselves.

Above all, the department stores and the mail-order companies have not felt the effects of the recovery of consumer demand.

Mail-order companies, some of which have not exactly got a reputation for being cheap (Otto, Quelle), are suffering from something which used to be their advantage.

Their price is valid for the whole season. This means that the mail-order firms cannot react so fast to price changes. The specialist retail trader can change the price tags over night or put "cut-price" swimsuits in the window as soon as the sun comes out.

The traditional department stores are more flexible in this respect. They have always placed an emphasis on a "wider range" and sought a more qualified demand than the self-service department stores and consumer markets.

The increased awareness of consumers of prices favours, of course, the cheaper of two offers, although cheap ought not to be confused with poor quality.

The winner is the one who offers goods of equal value at a lower price.

The trading firms have to cut back their costs and economise, be more creative with regard to storing and distribution methods, organisation, range and service.

As many small retail stores in certain branches have shown, what is needed is inventiveness. Size is not decisive. In fact, the larger firms are sometimes less flexible.

In the case of the department store companies, necessity has become the mother of invention now that the fat years where no brainwork was needed are gone.

In the food retail trade, Aldi has taken on the role of taskmaster and many chain stores are responding.

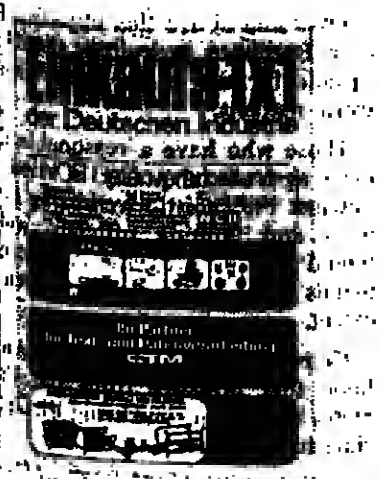
Butchers and bakers make it clear that they are not going to take things lying down.

This year could be a year of change in the retail trade.

(Rheinische Post, 16 June 1983)

(Rheinische Post, 16 June 1983)

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## PERSPECTIVE

## Which way now? The Social Democrats go through the shake-out process

Time on the Opposition benches is meant to be a time of regeneration. The Social Democrats, voted out by the electorate, are not resolving their differences as many expected that they would. Main issues in dispute are ties with the West and the 1979 Nato decision to station missiles in Europe and negotiations in the hope that deployment would not be necessary. The left of the party now claim that in these areas, they are in a large minority. Certainly, there has been one strong reaction to the course the SPD is taking. It came in the form of a letter from 10 Social Democratic academics including Professors Kurt Sontheimer, Thomas Nipperdey, Karl Kaiser, Hartmut Jäckel and Gerd Schwan. The accused party of encouraging left wingers who wanted to tread the middle path equidistant between Washington and Moscow. In this article, Lothar M. Marscheid outlines for *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt* the conflicting currents tugging at the SPD.

The Christian Democrats took years to come to terms with losing power to Bonn in 1969.

The Social Democrats are having similar problems adapting, but this time the symptoms are different.

There is no question of a change of leadership, since both Helmut Schmidt and Herbert Wehner have retired to the ranks, and unlike the Christian Democrats in 1969, the SPD need not feel hit by the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune.

A number of Social Democrats marriedly undermined Helmut Schmidt's position while he was Chancellor, fondly imagining that the SPD would gain fresh strength once it was no longer duty-bound to back an SPD Chancellor.

The assumption that a spell in Opposition would be like a sabbatical leave, enabling the party to develop itself to the full, has since proved wishful thinking.

The main problem the SPD faces is that it is bedevilled by so many unsolved problems. Its most serious drawback at present is unquestionably the dispute over Germany's ties with the West and the dual-track Nato missile-and-talks resolution.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Social Democrats' national executive committee has devoted itself almost entirely to this issue since the general election in March.

The debate on security policy held behind closed doors by the parliamentary party neither resolved differences of opinion within the SPD nor succeeded in papering over the extent of the differences.

The Social Democrats have changed a lot since the Nato resolution was passed, largely at Helmut Schmidt's behest, in December 1979.

The aim of the debate may not have been to hide the differences. Its avowed purpose was to arrive at a practicable choice of words until such time as the decision was reached in Geneva and to prevent the SPD's image on the issue from fraying any further.

There was an urgent need to call the party to order. The rank and file were clamouring more and more insistently for an immediate climb-down on Nato missile commitments.

The first move in this direction was made by the mid-Rhine region, the second by the Saar, and just before the debate was held the Bremen region voted in favour of a categorical "no" to the stationing of Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles in Germany.

Burgomaster Hans Koschnick of Bremen chose to illustrate his case with an argument that could hardly be outdone in intellectual simplicity.

He said he was on the side of the millions who wanted peace and not on that of the handful who felt a nuclear war could be won.

It is hard to believe that in 1979, the year the Nato resolution was reached, Herr Koschnick was deputy leader of the SPD and his Chancellor's faithful liege.

The party leaders felt obliged to intervene by the illogical position of those who rejected a negotiated settlement even before there was any sign of one appearing.

After all, Shadow Chancellor Hans-Jochen Vogel argued from time to time, the possibility of some sensible arrangement being negotiated in Geneva could not be ruled out.

A paper drawn up by the deputy leader of the parliamentary party, Horst Ehmke, and the foreign and security policy study group accordingly sought to keep the door open, at least optically.

Cumbersomely entitled Statement by the Bundestag SPD on Western Alliance Policy, the Strategy Debate and the Geneva Talks, it said:

"We must not ease pressure on the Soviet Union by declaring that we have no intention whatever of considering a Nato response to the stationing of SS-20s in Europe."

The paper even recalls the motives behind the Nato resolution:

"A point that prompted the December 1979 dual-track Nato resolution was the build-up of SS-20 missiles by the Soviet Union over the years regardless of our objection that they were in breach of key Western European security interests."

Then, after advising the United States to reactivate the "walk in the woods" proposals worked out by the two chief delegates in Geneva, America's Paul

Nitze and Russia's Yuri Kvitsinsky, the paper embarks on a volte-fuoco.

The "walk in the woods" proposals last year envisaged a drastic reduction in the Soviet SS-20 potential in return for Western agreement to forgo deployment of the Pershing 2, of which the Russians are particularly afraid.

"A solution to outstanding issues," the SPD paper continues, "could be envisaged within the framework of the Start talks."

This provision made it possible for Social Democratic opponents of stationing the new missiles in Germany to endorse the paper as a whole.

The demand for the INF medium-range missile talks to lead straight into the Start talks on strategic arms reduction means in effect that the missiles need not be installed from this autumn.

It also means farewell to the dual-track decision in self-evident contradiction of the assurance that the Soviet Union must not be allowed to feel that the threat of stationing new missiles no longer applied.

The parliamentary party nonetheless gave the policy statement its approval, with nine MPs voting against it and eight abstaining.

It is interesting in this connection to note how Helmut Schmidt behaved. In several interviews the ex-Chancellor had given the impression that even he, as the "father of the dual-track decision," had changed his mind.

Representatives of the SPD's left wing promptly sought to capitalise on this. In the Social Democratic weekly, *Vorwärts*, Egon Bahr forecast that if the SPD were to have to decide that weekend on the missiles there would be a unanimous vote against them, from Helmut Schmidt to Oskar Lafontaine and from Hans Apel to Erhard Eppler.

Herr Schmidt was not prepared to accept this argument. Both on the national executive and in the parliamentary party he energetically objected to being clouded by the opponents of the dual-track decision.

He still felt the 1979 decision was right. But he is probably in a minority. Hans-Jochen Vogel said he felt Herr Bahr's estimate that 90 per cent of SPD members were currently opposed to the missiles was not unrealistic.

Willy Brandt said that if he had known then what he knew today he

## Farm subsidies

Continued from page 5

timable value for man's physical and mental well-being.

Let it be noted at this point that Europe too has a lot to answer for in this context. Many mistakes have been made in breach of the need to maintain and take care of a natural living environment.

That is not to say that common Agricultural Policy should stay as it is. Subsidies must be thoroughly revised because no-one can afford the current surpluses.

Instead of rewarding farmers, mainly large-scale farmers, for output, agricul-

ture ought to be left in principle to the tender mercies of the free market.

Large-scale farmers can fend for themselves, whereas farmers who are unable to make ends meet but are deemed worthy of assistance for social or environmental reasons (mountain farmers, for instance) should be paid a straight subsidy to enable them to earn a reasonable income.

It would be up to politics to decide on long-term structural improvements. Europe's foremost aim must be to become self-supporting in all major farm products.

That would not only enable a suitable number of farmers to make ends meet. It is absolutely essential for a continent

would not have agreed to this decision at the time.

It would be understandable if the intent of the tug-of-war within the SPD limit it to the missiles issue in the narrowest sense of the term.

A week before the party met for its debate a memorandum by 10 Social Democrats was published.

They included such names as those of Professor Holmer, Thomas Nipperdey, Dr. Hartmut Jäckel and Schwan.

The memorandum did not contain words about trends within the party similar to that of Philip by Richard Löwenherz.

The party's lack of a clear vision led to the Greens. It was dropping out of industrial policy trends within the party slogan "In the German land aimed at 'a kind of human Guiltless disowning' with Western Europe and North America."

This had encouraged leftists who were keen to get the SPD line of equidistance between East and West, the SPD stated.

The gull-and-wormwood from SPD head office showed party leadership felt cut by the SPD's line of argument, the SPD said.

But this carried little comfort. Johannes Rau, Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, and deputy leader of the SPD, argued along much the same line as the memorandum.

There must be no gaining of ground, Herr Rau said, that in any way prepared to join Western alliance.

Without its ties with the Federal Republic of Germany not be able to survive.

Early in 1971 Herbert Wehner, "If the SPD allows itself to be moved into Opposition it will split. It will then be in the same position as the Labour Party in Britain."

Viewed with hindsight this would appear to be exaggerated. It is clear that by switching Opposition the SPD has by no means ended its contradictions.

Lothar M. Marscheid (Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt)

## SPACE RESEARCH

## German students' hopes in a hurtling drum

30 hours after the US space shuttle Challenger was launched Cape Canaveral a series of scientific experiments began.

Results are keenly awaited in Munich. In the Bergstrasse, 11, Hildesheim and Hanover.

Of the Challenger's seven payloads were devised — and years were in preparation — by five West German students aged between 16 and 20.

He began with a bright idea by a Munich company, which has a staff of 80, was the first private firm to be selected by the US space agency to board the space shuttle.

He paid the US space agency a mere 100,000 marks and donated its space to Jugend forscht, the German scientific research competition for the young.

Other customers in Challenger's Galaxy Special programme are NASA, the

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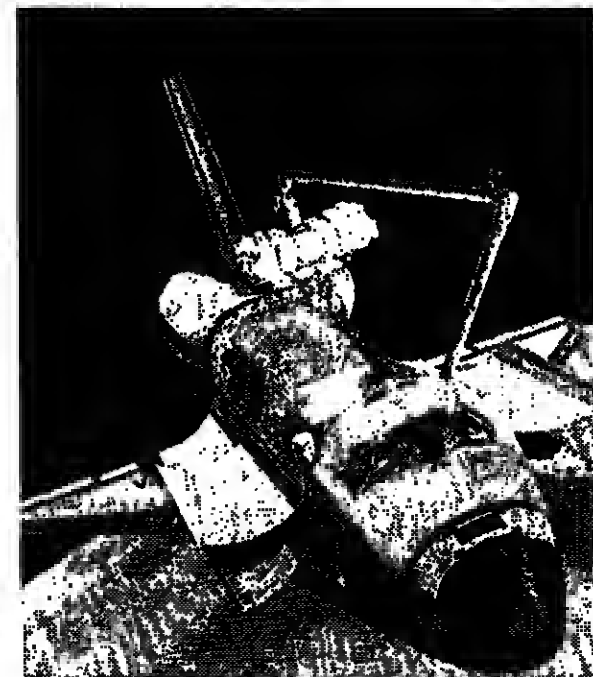
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Hans-Gerd (Sddeutsche Zeitung, 11 June 1983)



Challenger and its payload SPAS-01... artists' impression.

(Photos: MBH)

## Satellite was developed by Munich firm

Frankfurter Neue Presse

On its latest mission the US space shuttle Challenger had on board an innovation for which manufacturers in the Federal Republic of Germany were largely responsible.

It was the first time the Challenger put a satellite into orbit that was later recovered and brought back to earth.

The SPAS-01, short for Shuttle Pallet Satellite, was designed and built by Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB) in Ottobrunn, near Munich.

The Munich aerospace firm used its own resources while collaborating with NASA. The Bonn Research and Technology Ministry lent financial support.

The 1.5-ton satellite with eight scientific instruments and three cameras on board started working while still on board the space shuttle.

America's first woman astronaut, Sally K. Ride, then operated a Canadian-built handler arm to push the satellite out of the loading bay and into space for an eight-hour flight.

The shuttle and the satellite will orbit the earth at an altitude of roughly 300km. The satellite will fly up to 300 metres clear of the Challenger before it is retrieved.

SPAS-01 will carry out several experiments in space while doing public relations work for NASA: the three cameras will take still and movie photos of Challenger at work from various distances.

The photographs are being taken to mark NASA's silver jubilee and may be screened live on TV.

The satellite cost roughly DM32m from the time the flight was booked with NASA in May 1978 to take-off. Measuring equipment will cost an estimated DM25m more.

Project engineers used products already on the market wherever possible to cut costs.

They used carbon fibre sailboard masts to build the body of the satellite, while divers' bottles were used as gas storage containers in outer space.

dpa

(Sddeutsche Zeitung, 16 June 1983)

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 20 June 1983)

## Absorption test

On board Challenger the seed is being watered with a solution of cadmium nitrate and water.

Food intake and growth are to be stopped on Day Three so as to analyse later how much cadmium the watercress has absorbed in outer space.

Gunnar Possekel, 22, from Beerenbostel, near Hanover, is a student of information science at Paderborn University. He devised the timing devices for the four experiments in the *Jugend forscht* container.

His microcomputer is the size of two paperback books. It is programmed to switch a laser on and off, to illuminate the container with the potassium crystal, to heat and control the temperature of the furnace and to switch the light on and off for the watercress experiment.

Timing is vital in all four experiments, so if there are any failures on this score then he will be blamed. Unless, that is, NASA has to admit to a breakdown in its connection with the TDRS relay satellite.

Rudolf Metzler



More than 30 per cent of the 2,667 varieties of fern and flowers native to Germany are extinct or in serious danger of extinction.

This is one of the findings of a report which over 50 scientists have spent three and a half years drafting. It has just been submitted to Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann.

The project group was set up in autumn 1979 by the then Interior and Agriculture Ministers, Gerhart Baum and Josef Ertl.

It was a mixed group of politicians and scientists headed by Bonn biology professor Herimut Bick.

One of the banal yet essential points on which an effective and economic environmental policy depends is that everything is interconnected.

Another is that linear thinking, the projection of short-term trends into the future, is inappropriate to an understanding of reality.

So the authors of the report have adopted a different approach and advocate planning on the basis of a cyclical outlook.

The report begins with a catalogue of damage the environment has already undergone. Over 30 per cent of the 2,667 varieties of ferns and flowers native to the Federal Republic are either extinct or likely to become extinct.

When one kind of plant goes, the report continues, 10 to 20 species of fauna die too, so interdependent are they ecologically.

Thus 55 per cent of mammals, 44 per cent of birds and 67 per cent of reptiles in the country are classified either as extinct or in danger of extinction.

Only a fraction of the 29,000 or so kinds of insect in Germany have been closely examined in respect of their survival prospects.

## THE ENVIRONMENT

### Doomsday report's long list of fated plants

But of these 3,715 species a third are said to be in danger of extinction.

If an ecological action programme is to make any sense, the report says, immediate action must be taken to protect species and their biotopes, or natural habitats.

Only if the demands listed are implemented might most of Germany's surviving flora and fauna be expected to survive. But for many endangered species help, if it comes, will come too late.

The scientists call for classification, evaluation and preservation of biotopes with a rich variety of species in all parts of the country.

These "biological islands" must be surveyed for size, location, ecological surroundings and possibilities of interlinking.

"What is needed," the report states, "is a network dense enough to ensure the exchange of genetic potential and the survival of migratory species."

The biotope protection programme must also list minimum sizes and types of biotope and ensure that they are not, as far as possible, put to other uses.

The authors are particularly insistent on the need to protect the mud-flats along the North Sea coast. Dikes and embankments, they say, must only be built on condition that the mud-flats are not reduced in surface area.

The Bonn government must no longer provide funds from the estimates

earmarked for agricultural structure improvements and coastal protection.

Otherwise the Federal government would be shouldering partial responsibility for the factual destruction of the mud-flats.

A realistic ceiling must also be set for the amount of recreational use to which the mud-flats should be put. Similar limits ought, it is argued, to be set for the Alps.

Nature conservation areas and national parks must not be changed so much by extraneous influences that their target, to conserve nature, is no longer possible.

The report thus calls for buffer zones to be set up to extend sufficient protection until such time as uses are laid down once and for all.

Just as listed areas and national parks must not be put to uses that jeopardise the features that are to be protected, so uses that afford protection must be encouraged.

Agricultural chemicals would naturally be banned, whereas hunting and fishing would be permitted, but only if there was no other way of regulating the animal population.

Tourism should as a rule be forbidden, visitors being restricted so as to ensure they do no damage.

Ecologists stress the importance of safeguards for buffer zones to ensure that they are not the source of harmful influences.

The measures they have in mind would be aimed at ruling out pollution such as industrial fallout, traffic, lowering of the ground water level, fertilisers and pesticides.

Yet nature conservation alone is not enough to save nature in all its variety. Fifty-four per cent of the surface area of the Federal Republic of Germany is farmed.

Serious ecological mistakes are made in the agricultural sector. The laws of nature are criminally disregarded. Conventional farming, the report says, "has a detrimental influence on the aims of preserving species and the soil."

The experts thus call for a network of hedges, banks and mini-biotopes to be maintained or laid out. They will in part help to ensure agricultural output on a lasting basis.

This is a task that ought normally to be carried out in the course of consolidation and reallocation of arable land, whereas the trend so far has been to destroy structures that are ecologically essential.

The use of pesticides and fertilisers must be prohibited in these mini-biotopes areas, the experts say. They would soonest see them used only by farmers.

Roadside vegetation, parks and gardens ought not to be treated with pesticides and fertilisers et al. A Plant Protection Act needs passing.

In farming the report would like to see the introduction of new pesticides that spare useful insects and animals. New methods of tilling and harvesting are advocated. So is careful treatment of marginal flora and fauna.

The report proposes a duty on proprietary fertilisers to prevent overfertilisation, or alternatively a fertiliser ceiling, especially for market gardeners and vineyards.

Limits must definitely be imposed on

the use of nitrogen-based fertilisers to protect water resources. They might even have to be banned.

The Waste Disposal Act makes legal provision for offenders who use too much.

Less intensive agriculture could be had at a cost. To some extent it could be argued that landowners are bound to meet the cost in the interest of society.

But the cost, in terms of production, would be negligible. The payor would be the farmer.

For the land the experts call for a constitutional amendment to make landowners under a heavy ecological consideration, just as property-owners are under a consideration to abide by the law.

They feel considerable pressure to an environmental vehicle to finance swifter reduction of the toxin count in exhausts.

More environmental protection need to be used more flexibly that environmental protection effective.

More careful consideration be given to the efficacy of measures before they are put to full use.

The report says the state has a part to play. It and local authorities are major customers and suppliers in the market.

It is up to them to foster environmentally sound products. The experts envisage establishment of an environmental seal along consumer products to test and grade products.

Environmental tests mandatory before the go-ahead for the manufacture of machinery and production facilities, and cars and generating equipment.

The report deals at length with energy and consumption of materials. It says, must change production procedures for power to provide and added new energy-saving techniques.

Industrial development envisaged mainly "in small-scale work systems in the framework of a diversified craft technology of invention."

Three sectors are given special emphasis:

- biotechnology to produce medicines, foodstuffs and energy;
- development of energy sources independent of commodity supplies;
- and low-energy production techniques using recycling and feed-back.

The economics of water supply and distribution are said to be in total revision. Sewage and waste must no longer use the rivers as a purgatory.

Marginal areas where water is unspoiled by men must be kept as such. Conventional waste disposal is criticised, especially the failure to encourage full use of recycling techniques.

Waste should not be such quantities. Research should be devoted to materials that are an environmental hazard and their use should be limited if need be.

The report's proposals are also its authors say, on a comprehensive understanding of the system. It is dealing satisfactorily with mental problems.

Rudolf  
(Rheinischer Merkur/Ch...

## EXHIBITIONS

### Some gaps in an otherwise strong collection of Egyptian history

Exhibition on Egyptian art and history is being held in Heidelberg

The section concentrates on Egypt the pyramids and the second on the Pharaonic millennia.

Loan items are from two universities (Heidelberg and Tübingen) museums (Hanover, Vienna, Berlin, Stuttgart, and Frankfurt's), a well-known private collection in Lucerne, and the Munich Collection of Egyptian Art.

Therefore be claimed that the exhibition gives a good idea of what

missioned task put before them. And it was normal that nature of these tasks was determined in most cases by religious systems. The visitor to such an exhibition, therefore, should really be familiar with this fact in order to fully comprehend the work of art before him.

Another essential prerequisite for understanding the exhibits is knowledge of the historical context surrounding this advanced civilisation.

The Sahara exhibition in Cologne in 1978, for example, suggested that the area around the Nile might have been gradually colonised by peoples from the Sahara region. The emphasis in Heidelberg is on Egyptian art, even though it is treated separately in the exhibition's general context. Explanations in one exhibition catalogue (*Bilder für die Ewigkeit*, DM18) are limited to analyses of individual items. The religious and historical context is only hinted at. The exhibition's second catalogue (*Ägypten vor den Pyramiden*, DM12, has more to offer in this respect. It goes into greater detail on the historical developments between the Egyptian Palaeolithic Age to the "pre-Christian" age and the age of the "Unification of the Empire" (round about 3000 BC).

It is very well illustrated, one of the most striking pictures being that of the magnificently stylised woman dancer from Upper Egypt.

Another positive aspect in this second catalogue are the pictorial references to the excavations by the Culturological Institute. There is also mention of the (financially decisive) role played by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* in Bonn. However, the visitor is still left confused. He is not informed about the meaning of terms such as "old", "middle-aged", "recent", "empire". Nothing is said about the 31 dynasties before Alexander the Great, where they came from, how they developed historically, and what implications such a dynasty had. All the visitor needs is some kind of reference point covering the basic historical facts. A mere list of dates is not enough. A summary of the most important religious concepts is also missing.

Another example: "Head of a Dicer", 16.5 cm high and dating about 1970 BC, a faïence expression of amazement and fright, rigidly fixed the panic-like gaze.

non-expert visitors many of the questions left unanswered.

Head of the dice-thrower, fur example, is one of the many examples in Heidelberg which proves that such a collection could produce art of comparable standard and quality. The almost year-old sculpture is reminiscent of many ways of European Romanesque sculptures.

Regardless of the content of any particular civilisation, therefore, it is quite possible to talk of a "development" whereas there is no such thing as "development" in the sense of an advanced civilisation.

There are doubts as to whether Egyptian artists consciously "created art". It is more likely that most of them were concerned with fulfilling the com-

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## ■ EDUCATION

## Curious ethnological point: the students roll in as the professors roll out

The number of students studying ethnology at German universities is rising fast.

There are many reasons for this sudden popularity. Together with the appeal of the unknown (culture, social system etc.), many students are hoping to find answers to some of life's fundamental questions: are wars and violence part of human nature? Do other races and nations have better ways of preventing social conflict?

Others are only interested in bridging the waiting period before studying the subject they really want to study.

A case in question is 21 year-old Ruth, who instead of waiting for five years to study psychology decided to take up ethnology at Berlin's Free University.

Interest in other cultural groups has also grown because many young Germans are unhappy with their own cultural heritage and background.

During recent years, an unusually large number of school-leavers have opted to study ethnology, a subject which only had about 10 or 20 students just a few years ago.

Today, ethnology departments are finding it difficult to cope with the rush and the 2,000 students in Berlin have brought the department there to the verge of collapse.

Many would-be ethnologists are hop-

ing to find jobs which correspond to their qualifications. A field of scientific research which was once limited to a select minority therefore, now runs the risk of being overrun.

Professor Rolf Herzog, chairman of the German Ethnological Society, feels that the interest is based on a mixture of Rousseau, Karl May and genuine personal commitment for the problems of the Third World.

Another motivating force is seen to be the subject's general educational value.

Philosophy professor Jacob Taubes from Berlin sees the desire of young people to get to know the life-styles, rites and myths of foreign peoples as the main factor. An expression of the feeling "things can't go on the way they are". This assumption was confirmed by a survey carried out in a Berlin ethnology department. Students were asked to describe their motives for seeking different ways of life, religions and moral concepts, as well as arguments against German society.

Many stated that they wanted to "get away from normality". They object to existing social constraints and the general security-mindedness.

This is one of the reasons why they don't mind studying a subject which offers them little or no job prospects when they finish their studies.

As one third-semester student put it, they want to keep their minds open for new ideas and "not simply give up".

In an effort to prevent the total collapse of the teaching capacity for this subject, most universities have been forced to restrict or even ban further ethnology admissions. Berlin's Free University has also decided not to take on any more students for this subject.

At first glance, it seems rather odd that Berlin should be such a centre for those who want to study ethnology.

The fear of army conscription (German nationals resident in Berlin cannot be conscripted) cannot be the only reason, as many of the newcomers to Berlin have been studying for some semesters already and so cannot be called up anyway.

The city's real appeal would seem to be different "scenes", which particularly help students to discover their own personal identities. Especially the alternative groups, house occupiers and women's lib groups appear to play an important part here.

The ethnology department at the Free University also holds the record for the sorry state of teaching and research.

As the students have increased, the teaching staff has dropped. Once there were four professors. Now, the last one is about to leave and there will be no one in the department entitled to carry out final examinations.

One professorship has been vacant for some time and another was vacated by the former head of the department. Yet another professor didn't feel up to the strain.

"This leaves just one professor who does his best to keep things going with the help of an equally limited number of academic assistants. His contract, however, expires at the end of the current semester."

Berlin's Senator for Science and Research, Wilhelm Kewenig, saw the state of emergency as an opportunity to "do things properly". He set up a special commission made up of German and foreign ethnologists to give some serious thought to ways of reorganising the ethnology department.

He was hoping to find a way of catching up with the Humboldt University in East Berlin, which has always been the ethnology centre in Berlin.

Kewenig urged the university ethnologists to cooperate more closely with the much-respected Museum for Ethnology, just a few streets away from the university.

## Day nurseries

Continued from page 13

unanimous agreement that the state should do more to encourage family education than day-nursery education.

This does not mean that day-nurseries should be condemned; there must be a pluralistic system to cater for the differing needs and requirements of parents.

To put it in a nutshell: just as there are "good" and "bad" families, there are "good" and "bad" day-nurseries.

Justin Westhoff

(Sddeutsche Zeitung, 16 June 1983)

Although lectures are given by those working in the field there has been a lack of contact between the two institutions in the troubled times of student strikes in the late 1960s.

Kewenig would also like to see contact between the museum and the Museum for Folklore.

He therefore suggested a special research area on German culture within the research field of ethnology.

This, however, did not appeal to university staff. German folklore is dismissed by the Nazis that it is a taboo subject ever since.

Apart from the fact that the scientists have made a name for themselves in this field, the university staff feel that there would be no room for them among students for such a subject.

The special commission set up by the university also showed restraint. It was more keen on the suggestion by the Free University with the problems of folk culture in German contributions to urban ethnology as it were.

One advantage for students with this aspect would be the field research on their own territory. The commission advised them to make better use of existing facilities rather than to spend too much money.

In view of the existing situation and the current scientific research, university research emphasis continues to be placed on Africa, Near and Middle East.

The spokesman for the commission, Professor Herzog, recommended the department appoint experts as honorary professors to their interest in academic affairs. This would help access by students to the museum's extensive library.

The commission again drafted over a list of appointments will be submitted to the university.

However, in an effort to increase teaching capacity it calls upon the university to advertise for at least two professorships. This recommendation was taken up by the university's senate.

It suggested to the university that the two best paid professorships should be created.

However, it will take two years before the first professor can take up his duties on account of the lengthy appointment procedure. Until then, a vacancy programme including

tutors will keep the department busy. Certainly not good news for students, who nevertheless are not vociferous in their protest.

It seems very difficult to get meetings together nowadays as there is virtually no response to calls for meetings or similar protest action.

There is general upthrust and will into one's own private life. Second-semester ethnology students are appalled at the fact that the university is "despite the fact that it is robbing the students of the very heart of their studies".

Cancelled grants, gloomy prospects and overcrowded lecture halls dampen the willingness to take part.

"Now, the situation is such that down the line, no-one knows what is going to happen."

Ruth Berger

(Die Zeitung)

## MODERN LIVING

## Changing political mould of terror groupings

in the anti-imperialist struggle. "We shall overcome!" Once, there was much doubt that this was a left slogan.

The *Bundeskriminalamt*, or Federal Criminal Police, and the state units in Wiesbaden and the state units in Cologne-based *Verfassungsschutz*, or Office for the Protection of the Constitution, the counter-intelligence, can no longer be so sure.

March the avowedly left-wing Revolutionary Cells bomb-blasted the office of Standard Elektrik, an ITT subsidiary.

Using this slogan they claimed that they were backing right-wing dictator with cash and weapons technology. April it was the boot on the other side. Neo-Nazis Odried Hepp and Kexel sent the left-wing West newspaper *Die Tageszeitung* a proclamation similar slogan.

"The two right-wing terrorists at the end of their letter. That was a departure for both the *Bundeskriminalamt* and the *Verfassungsschutz*. Year there were about 100 raids on facilities in Germany, including which people were injured and all 10 were the handwork of the left.

October 1981 Klaus-Dieter Hewenig, 26, and his wife Christine, 22, arrested by a Belgian anti-terrorist unit in Ghent.

Their hideout the police found guns, forged papers and addresses of activists in France, Belgium, Spain and Ireland.

Germany they were due to be prosecuted for offences in connection with 129 of the criminal code (membership of a criminal association).

Edhelm Busse, leader of the Peasants' Movement of Germany, was banned after a shoot-out with the police, faces similar charges.

When the Hewenigs are tried in court soon they will be charged solely with bank robbery and embezzlement and they plan to stymie the dead-end going on hunger strike.

From the prison where they claimed to be held for political reasons they wrote to *Die Tageszeitung*.

"We believe," they wrote, "that petty interests can be set aside by those who are to be undogmatic."

It needs to be by a number of guiding principles such as anti-imperialism, anti-racism and anti-fascism to

arrive at as broad as possible a resistance front at all levels."

Even the anti-imperialist, as militant undogmatic left-wingers call themselves, were taken aback by the new comrades who laid claim to their solidarity.

Right-wing terrorist Michael Kühnen wrote to *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt* last year outlining the neo-Nazi change of course.

Writing from the maximum security wing of Celle prison he envisaged a kind of truce with left-wingers with a view to weakening the current system, so aim held in common.

There were members of the alternative movement, the peace movement and anti-nuclear campaigners who were opposed to certain aspects of the prevailing system for entirely honourable motives, he said.

Common campaigns were conceivable. Young National Socialists could well demonstrate against the proposed new runway at Frankfurt airport or against housing speculators.

"We have always said we were socialists," Kühnen wrote.

The stationing of medium-range US missiles in Germany will in all probability prompt both left- and right-wing raids. Anti-imperialism mainly means anti-US Army.

"The political scandal," the Revolutionary Cells berated West German left-wingers last April, "is not that fascists have been able to convert into military moves this viewpoint widespread in the peace movement."

The viewpoint referred to is the argument that the Federal Republic of Germany is an occupied country and a nation threatened both culturally and in nuclear terms.

German war veterans' organisation, *Stahlhelm*, has problems with members who want to give the Nazi salute.

Some members were threatened with bodily eviction from this year's meeting in Celle if they didn't desist, according to the *Stahlhelm* head, Paul Koch, 70.

"They trembled as I warned them; but they said yes," Herr Koch told a Press meeting in Celle.

At the 1977 conference in Aachen there was an Italian delegate who just couldn't keep his right arm down.

He didn't know the Nazi salute was banned in Germany. Two other delegates had been unaware of the fact too.

Herr Koch has since taken care to ensure that the organisation does not run into trouble. "Before our meetings we always make a point of saying there must be no right arms raised."

He prefers not to use the Nazi salute even at gatherings in other countries where there is no such ban.

In Wiesbaden he once attended a public meeting where the Horst Wessel Song, a Nazi anthem, had been played. Everyone else had stood up and sung.

He had preferred to remain seated and stay quiet. Afterwards he had been asked whether he was really a German.

The *Stahlhelm*, he assured journalists, is not extremist. It expressly acknowledges the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Paul Koch is used to trouble with the discipline of his comrades even though

"The scandal," the Revolutionary Cells continued, "is that such a viewpoint exists at all and that it has been possible to exclude social revolutionary and anti-imperialist positions yet span the entire range of left-wing reformists."

"From the anti-missile petitioners to *Die Tageszeitung* and the Greens it is a viewpoint that has been used to extend the coalition capacity of the peace movement to nationalist or even fascist positions."

"This has been partly done deliberately, partly in unwitting naïveté."

The Red Cells said they had not arranged raids in connection with President Reagan's visit to Germany last June or the Bonn NATO summit merely because *Dallas* was to be screened on TV for a further season.

Yet West German left-wingers as a whole showed increasing signs of cultural pessimism in respect of the spread of American culture.

Hitler had expounded this viewpoint in a single sentence by saying that there was more culture in a single Beethoven symphony than all America had so far produced.

The Revolutionary Cells pamphlet *Beethoven v. McDonald's* prompted an unusually heated correspondence in the letters columns of *Die Tageszeitung*.

The response could only be compared with that to controversial subjects such as paedophilia, speed limits for private cars and the sacking of a staff writer for *Bunte*, the women's lib magazine. One correspondent was most upset by the cultural infiltration of the US occupation forces as evidenced by Coca-Cola and McDonald's, Charles Bukowski instead of Friedrich Schiller and Sammy Davis Jr. instead of the German New Wave.

"We can be gratified there is a wall running through Germany," Hepp and Kexel write. "It at least ensures the survival of 17 million healthy Germans in the eastern part of the country."

"The minds and souls of people here in the West are in the process of stupefaction," the two neo-Nazis note in a

expression of dissatisfaction by a minority of local opinion.

This minority included the trade unions, the Social Democrats, the Greens, some Free Democrats, the Protestant Church, the Society for Christian-Jewish Cooperation, the Association of People Persecuted by the Nazi Regime and various other groups.

At meetings on successive days they voiced dissatisfaction not only with the *Stahlhelm* gathering but also with the civil authorities.

Stones and fireworks were thrown by a few unidentified individuals among the 1,000-strong demonstration on the Saturday.

Many *Stahlhelm* delegates were elderly men, but there were youngsters too who gathered beneath the German Imperial flag.

The assembly hall where the meeting was held was cordoned off by police as delegates passed through. It was like a fortress. Two delegates from Pöln, near Brunschwitz, were asked by journalists what the organisation's aims were. The older replied with a quotation from the classics.

"Our knowledge and understanding are shrouded in darkness," he said. And went on:

"We also hoped that all participants would feel at home in Celle despite the

discipline and the spread of soldiery thought are aims of the organisation."

He is also used to trouble with the media. Nearly everything that was written about the *Stahlhelm* was wrong, he complained.

But he refused to be specific when pressed for details by journalists. He also refused to admit the Press to any of the conference sessions.

He would not even say what topics were to be discussed or how many members the organisation had.

The *Stahlhelm*, he said, did not engage in public activity at all. It pursued its aims by word of mouth.

The public might never have learnt that a meeting was to be held in Celle had not the burgomaster felt duty bound to say a few words of welcome.

Oberbürgermeister Helmut Hörstmann and town clerk Ulrich von Witten wrote how pleased they were that Celle had been chosen as a venue, establishing ties with the traditions of a garrison town.

They also hoped that all participants would feel at home in Celle despite the



Visions of a truce with the extreme left... neo-Nazi Michael Kühnen. (Photo: dpa)

pro-Soviet pamphlet entitled *Farewell to Hitlerism*.

Christiao Lochte, the head of the *Verfassungsschutz* in Hamburg, does not dispute for a moment that a clear line can no longer be drawn between left- and right-wingers in some respects.

Last December he was one of the first experts to suspect that neo-Nazis were responsible for bomb raids on American servicemen in Germany.

He says there has been no ideological rapprochement, however. *Farewell to Hitlerism* is in his view a pedestrian venture in intellectual terms.

"If Kühnen is unrealistic enough to imagine he might be able to fight alongside left-wingers he is mistaken," Herr Lochte says.

But he is reluctant to forecast what might happen in the long hot autumn that is expected to lie ahead.

Might neo-Nazis try to bomb their way into the political fairway of the peace movement? He was not prepared to engage in public speculation on this point.

Rainer Jagschies

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 12 June 1983)

## Stiff right arms on an old soldiers' body

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expression of dissatisfaction by a minority of local opinion.

This minority included the trade unions, the Social Democrats, the Greens, some Free Democrats, the Protestant Church, the Society for Christian-Jewish Cooperation, the Association of People Persecuted by the Nazi Regime and various other groups.

At meetings on successive days they voiced dissatisfaction not only with the *Stahlhelm* gathering but also with the civil authorities.

Stones and fireworks were thrown by a few unidentified individuals among the 1,000-strong demonstration on the Saturday.

Many *Stahlhelm* delegates were elderly men, but there were youngsters too who gathered beneath the German Imperial flag.

The assembly hall where the meeting was held was cordoned off by police as delegates passed through. It was like a fortress. Two delegates from Pöln, near Brunschwitz, were asked by journalists what the organisation's aims were. The older replied with a quotation from the classics.

"Our knowledge and understanding are shrouded in darkness," he said. And went on:

"We also hoped that all participants would feel at home in Celle despite the

discipline and the spread of soldiery thought are aims of the organisation."

He is also used to trouble with the media. Nearly everything that was written about the *Stahlhelm* was wrong, he complained.

But he refused to be specific when pressed for details by journalists. He also refused to admit the Press to any of the conference sessions.

He would not even say what topics were to be discussed or how many members the organisation had.

The *Stahlhelm*, he said, did not engage in public activity at all. It pursued its aims by word of mouth.

The public might never have learnt that a meeting was to be held in Celle had not the burgomaster felt duty bound to say a few words of welcome.

Oberbürgermeister Helmut Hörstmann and town clerk Ulrich von Witten wrote how pleased they were that Celle had been chosen as a venue, establishing ties with the traditions of a garrison town.

They also hoped that all participants would feel at home in Celle despite the